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ABSTRACT

Women's studies courses and programs are a relatively new phenomenon at higher education institutions. The author develops the view that women's courses and programs were created in response to issues raised by the Women's Liberation Movement. The central concern is that women be fairly represented in traditional disciplinary subject matter. Existing courses and programs are surveyed and conjectures are made about their future status in the college or university curricula. (Author)

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Lora H. Robinson

1973

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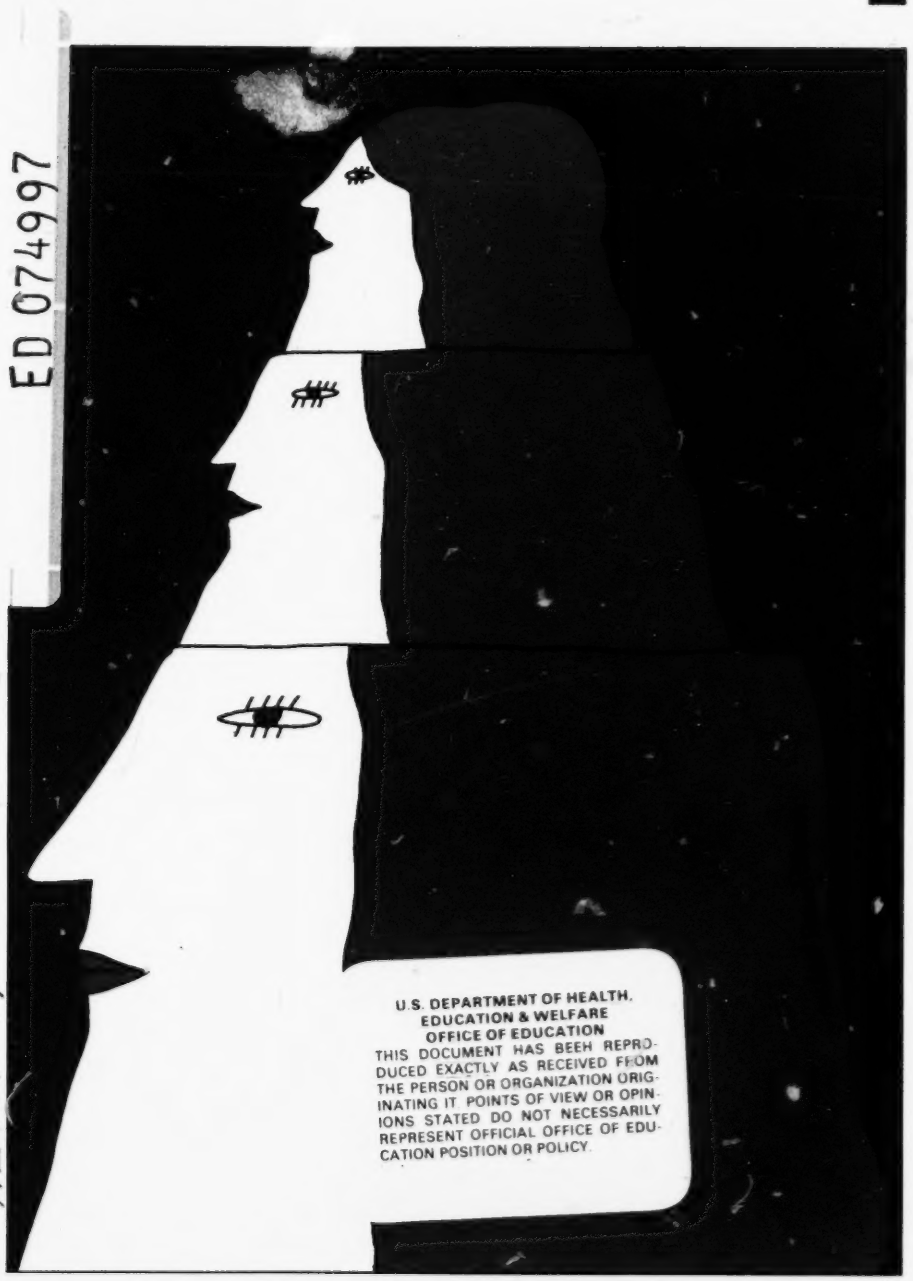

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Foreword

Women's studies courses and programs are a relatively new phenomenon at higher education institutions. The author develops the view that women's courses and programs were created in response to issues raised by the Women's Liberation Movement. The central concern is that women be fairly represented in traditional disciplinary subject matter. Existing courses and programs are surveyed and conjectures made about their future status in the college or university curricula. The author, Lora H. Robinson, is a research associate at the Clearinghouse.

Carl J. Lange, Director
ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education
March 1973

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Also, I am indebted to the Clearinghouse on Women's Studies for the use of their comprehensive files. The Clearinghouse, an educational project of The Feminist Press, has been collecting information about women's studies at all educational levels for over two years now, and through their auspices, a number of important publications on women's studies have been produced. Readers involved in any aspect of women's studies are urged to notify the Clearinghouse: Box 334, Old Westbury, New York 11568.

Finally, I want to thank Bernice Sandler, Director of the Project on the Status and Education of Women at the Association of American Colleges, for reviewing the manuscript and making helpful suggestions.

Lora H. Robinson

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Overview

Women's studies emerged as a field of interest because traditional disciplines either devoted too little attention to women or presented biased and stereotypic notions of women. There are several indices of the impact of women's studies on higher education. They include: the number of articles and reports that urge the creation of women's studies courses and programs; the inclusion of women's studies courses and programs in campus affirmative action plans; the number of conferences and workshops on women's studies; the increase in journal space devoted to women's studies; the proliferation of women's studies courses; and the growth of women's studies programs.

Persons starting women's studies programs faced a number of problems. However, their main one centered on finding a means to promote women's studies on campus while, at the same time, not becoming isolated as a women's field or creating an institutional place for women. Programs have tried to solve this dilemma in a number of ways, ranging from refusing to seek official university sanction to the creation of programs with multilinks within the campus community. This variety in program approach led to difficulties in identifying campuses with established women's studies programs. To incorporate as many as possible, campuses were included where activities in women's studies involved more than the offering of women's studies courses. This could mean the existence of a women's studies major or an organizational unit responsible for women's studies. Using this definition, 32 campus women's studies programs were identified.

The main feature of programs is women's studies courses offered either within a single discipline or with a multidisciplinary[1] approach. The multidisciplinary course is a requirement of the two BA and three MA programs in women's studies.

Teachers report that women's studies courses have attracted large enrollments and changed the attitudes and behavior of

1. The term multidisciplinary is adopted here in line with Tobias (1972). She prefers the word multidisciplinary because it sounds comprehensive, whereas interdisciplinary sounds "homeless" (p. 260).

students. It is common for students to take two or three more women's studies courses after their first exposure. In fact, on campuses where degrees in women's studies are not offered, students are using alternate routes to specialize in women's studies by designing individualized majors and minors.

Several features of program operation demonstrate an attempt to foster multilinks to the rest of the campus and to the community at large. First, programs utilize minimized hierarchical structures along with large advisory bodies to insure the participation of a variety of persons, including students, staff, and community women. In addition to their participation in decision-making, students, community women, and faculty also teach courses. Often faculty participate on either a joint-appointment or released-time basis. Second, programs sponsor or promote a number of other activities that clearly are intended to build connections within the institution and to the community beyond. Lecture series, career counseling, and program publications are three examples of activities designed to broaden program impact.

The future of women's studies and women's studies programs is uncertain. However, there are three conditions that may insure their continuation. There is a need for empirical data on women; for theories to adequately conceptualize both new and old knowledge about women; and to create a balance in the presentation of the sexes in existing bodies of knowledge. As long as these three conditions persist, current programs will probably be continued and new ones will be established.

Background of Women's Studies

Women's studies is primarily a by-product of the Women's Liberation Movement. Groups of women began to examine their status in society and found many institutions, including colleges and universities, seriously wanting in their treatment of women. One of the ways colleges were found lacking was in the manner intellectual knowledge is taught, studied, and researched.

Feminists who criticize the current status of intellectual knowledge question particularly the status and treatment of women. Their perception is that knowledge, texts, research, and courses have two common failings. Frequently coverage of women is not commensurate with her numbers and actual contributions. Or at times materials on women are stereotypic and/or biased against women.

Lack of attention to women, feminists assert, results from a viewpoint that takes male supremacy for granted; consequently, books and courses focus heavily on men's actions, organizations, theories, perceptions, ideas, and concepts. To support their case, feminists marshal evidence that half the human race is either omitted with forethought, omitted unintentionally, is given footnote status only, is treated as an appendage or exception, or is presumed to be included when the content really deals with men only: " . . . one soon realizes that when the author talks about 'man,' he means male" (Freeman, 1971, p. 474).

Textbook studies have been used to support the notion of women's invisibility and appendage status.

> . . . in one study of the 27 leading textbooks used in college level American history courses, women were virtually absent: no book devoted more than 2% of its pages to women; one had only 5/100 of 1% of its pages devoted to women. In many books Harriet Beecher Stowe and Eleanor Roosevelt are not even mentioned (Sandler, 1971, p. 6).

> Major books have been written on such relevant topics as the occupational structure, in which whole sections are devoted to "minority groups," but only a footnote to women (one third of the labor force) (Freeman, 1971, p. 474).

Textbooks are not the only medium where the absence of references to women is commonplace. Women's studies advocates have been asking why women writers are not included in literature course syllabi, why noteworthy women aren't covered in history courses, why we don't learn about the special treatment of women under the law, and so on. So the absence of women has been questioned across most of the scholarly disciplines.

A related criticism focuses not on women's omission or minor treatment, but the fact that a male norm has been adopted to which women are the exception. The study of achievement motivation is one frequently cited example where women were considered an exception to the norm, i.e., their behavior did not fit the theoretical model. Yet the model was neither modified to fit both sexes, nor has been fully developed to account for women alone.

> Some years ago, for example, the subject of achievement motivation was considered closed by psychologists. They had done their studies, and written up their conclusions. It didn't seem to matter, at the time, that their results in no way explained atypical patterns shown by women on their tests. It was considered not just sufficient but conclusive to have successfully dealt with male achievement motivation. Matina Horner, a psychologist and Radcliffe's new president, has reopened the subject, is doing extensive and imaginative research on achievement motivation in women, and her work is profoundly disturbing (Benson, 1972, p. 285).

That this issue is still current is illustrated by a recent copy of *Behavior Today* in which Aletha Stein is cited as questioning traditional notions of achievement. She suggests that they are loaded against women.

> Since achievement is usually correlated with traditionally masculine personality characteristics – competitiveness and independence – women's lack of these characteristics has led to the conclusion that they are not motivated to achieve. . . . Stein suggested that women often translate achievement motivation into the context of feminine interests and activities culturally and socially prescribed as "feminine domains" ("To Be or Not to Be," 1973, p. 1).

Those observing biases in the treatment of the sexes feel that there is a great need to achieve a more balanced view. However, since women's status now is usually inferior or subordinate to men, they feel remedial efforts should focus primarily on women.

Feminists try to upgrade the status of women in modern knowledge in a number of ways. One common approach is to reorient the material on a familiar topic in college courses. Benson (1972) provides an example of the feminist perspective applied to the study of novelist Jane Austen:

> Jane Austen is usually taught as a "lady novelist," a novelist of manners, even of an economic phenomenon in that she records the rise of a new class in her society. In a different kind of course, we also look at how Austen portrays the female experience in her novels, we look at her heroines' consciousness of themselves as women in an environment she perceived as less open to women than to men (p. 284).

Another approach is to develop new tools of analysis, especially for the study of women within a particular field. Lerner (1969) is a good example of an attempt to arrive at a new framework for the analysis of women in American history. Similar efforts are underway in other disciplines.

A third approach commonly employed is the reexamination of major theoretical works. A work frequently cited in this category is Freud's theory of sexuality. Recently, Gilman (1971) analysed the feminist view of Freud's work. He states:

> . . . as I read on through the feminist critique . . . and, more decisive than that, went back to Freud's own writings, the evidence of his radical bias against women and the existence of that bias in the very texture of psychoanalysis came to seem indisputable. . . . The astonishing thing, which had only rarely been pointed out until the feminists began waving their arms at it, is that Freud's entire theory of sexuality is built from a masculine model. In psychoanalysis, maleness is the norm and femaleness an incomplete or, even worse, deficient aspect of it (pp. 10-11).

In addition to the approaches cited above, feminists hold that ideas and philosophy should be intellectually compatible with actions. This link between attitudes and actions has led to the rejection of the traditional notion of a separation between the academic and the political and social world. This rationale is reflected in contemporary definitions of women's studies:

> The major goal of women's studies courses and programs today is the fostering of intellectual and personal autonomy in women (Sicherman, 1972, p. 85).

> . . . women's studies reexamines the traditional disciplines – psychology, literature, history, economics, and so on (Benson, 1972, pp. 283-284).

> Women's Studies is a political and academic endeavor and the two are inseparable. The courses should seek to awaken women to the realities of American society as well as to the reasons for their secondary status (Salper, 1971a, p. 5).

> . . . the purpose of the Women's Studies Program is to examine all aspects of the lives of women and men in contemporary society in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of the nature and potential of women and men and to encourage the fuller development and utilization of their talents ("Women's Studies Program," 1972, p. 1).

> And this is what women's studies really amounts to: analysis of the role of women (past and present) for the purpose of contemporary and future change ("Women's Studies at Towson," 1972, p. 2).

> Female Studies is the intellectual examination of the absence of women from history; the fresh look in a non-Freudian way at the social psychology of women; the study of women in literature and the images of women in the Arts; [and] the economic and legal history of the family. . . (Tobias, 1970c, p. 1).

The definitions above indicate a deliberate linking of an intellectual outlook to women's lives.

In summary, the field of women's studies can be defined by three types of activities. First, women's studies means learning more about women and bringing this knowledge to the classroom or publishing it in scholarly journals. Second, work is being done to develop new ways of analyzing, approaching, and arranging both new and old bodies of knowledge from a feminist perspective. The development of a feminist theoretical orientation, however, is still in the preliminary stages. Third, women's studies proponents are sharing their work with men and women students in the hope of fostering changes in their attitudes and behaviors.

Women's Studies Gains Visibility in Higher Education

For years some academics have written about or considered women's thoughts and experiences in their work. For example, Lloyd Miller, Professor of the History of Art at Towson State College:

> . . . was convinced many years ago . . . of the importance of the contributions of women in the arts, indeed of their leadership in originality and influence, and has been gathering materials and doing research in this area (Coulter and Hedges, 1972, p. 5).

Similarly, Annette Baxter, Professor of History at Barnard, chose "women" as the topic for an American history colloquium in 1966 before the Women's Liberation Movement had brought the need for women's studies into national prominence. Now there are a number of indications that there is support for women's studies in higher education. First, there are a number of journal articles that urge that women's studies courses and programs be created on campus (Alexander, 1970; Cohen, 1971; Husbands, 1972; Newman, 1971; Oltman, 1972; Sandler, 1972; Tobias, 1970e; Trecker, 1971; and Trow, 1972).

Second, committees charged with investigating the status of women on campus have felt there was a need for women's studies on their campus. As a result, their reports often include the recommendation that women's studies courses and/or programs be started on campus. This was true of the Steering Committee of the Association of Faculty Women at the University of Wisconsin (Madison and Extension). Their proposal to the administration contains an outline of a proposed women's studies program as one of its fourteen sections ("An Affirmative Action Program . . . ," 1972, pp. 33-36).

Third, different types of meetings in the past two or three years have reflected increased interest in women's studies. A number of conferences, institutes, and workshops on women's studies have been organized in different parts of the country.[2] In addition, a number of professional associations, such as the American Historical Association, the National Council on Family Relations, the American Sociological Association, the American Psychological Association, and the Modern Language Association, have devoted significant portions of time to the subject at annual meetings.

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2. For a publication from one of these conferences, see: *Notes: Midwest Conference on Women's Studies*, 1971; Siporin, 1972; Tobias, 1970f; or *Women and Education: A Feminist Perspective*, 1971. Additional conferences on women's studies have been held at the University of Pennsylvania, Santa Cruz (University of California) and Tufts University.

Fourth, more journal space has been devoted to topics in women's studies. This is evident in scholarly journals in the traditional disciplines that have increased markedly the number of pages devoted to women. Also five new journals have been started that focus specifically on the topic: *Women's Studies*; *Feminist Studies*; *Journal of the International Institute of Women's Studies*; *Women's Studies Abstracts*; and a *Women's Studies Newsletter.*[3]

Fifth, there has been a proliferation of women's studies courses on campuses across the country. Even though the estimates of the numbers of courses vary widely, there is no doubt of their phenomenal increase. The fall 1972 issue of the *Women's Studies Newsletter* announced a recent counting of upwards of 1,000 courses in women's studies (Howe, 1972b). This number is remarkable when one considers that there were essentially none prior to 1969.

Courses evolved naturally from the awakening of interest in women's studies. On campus, informal groups of women, both students and faculty, shared their experiences and talked about women's status. Reading lists, reprints of articles and papers, and position papers circulated freely. Subsequently, similar activities began to appear in slightly more formal places such as "free universities," experimental colleges, and other locations where study could be introduced quickly and with few constraints.

Concurrently, those mechanisms that facilitated the introduction of women's studies courses on campus were quickly utilized. Courses appeared in noncredit programs, continuing education programs, and extension programs. Some instructors changed the content of an existing course; others added major portions dealing with women. In some cases, courses were offered under a form that allowed the topic focus to vary, such as independent study or readings or the "pro-seminar." And in many cases, courses were shepherded through channels to become regular parts of the college curriculum.

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3. *Women's Studies:* Gordon and Breach Science Publishers Inc., 440 Park Avenue South, New York, 10016; *Feminist Studies*: 606 West 116th Street, New York, 10027; *Journal of the International Institute of Women Studies*: International Institute of Women Studies, 1615 Myrtle Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20012; *Women's Studies Abstracts*: Box 1, Rush, New York 14543; *Women's Studies Newsletter*: The Feminist Press, Box 334, Old Westbury, New York 11568.

The mushrooming of courses in the short space of three years simply reflects the acknowledgement of the real need for women's studies as urged by the Women's Liberation Movement and others. As Howe (1972a) points out, the net results have far outstripped what any organized effort to foster women's studies could have done.

Sixth, and finally, women's studies programs have been established at a number of colleges and universities. Like courses in women's studies, programs have rapidly increased in number. In 1970, there were two programs, San Diego (California State University) and Cornell University; in December 1971, case studies of several women's studies programs covering 20 educational institutions appeared in *Female Studies III* (Howe and Ahlum, 1971). By the fall of 1972, Howe (1972b) announced that the Clearinghouse on Women's Studies had information on 46 programs.

The emergence of women's studies courses was the real beginning of women's studies programs. There was no case where a program preceded courses in women's studies. In an oversimplified way, the introduction of women's studies courses led to interest in their coordination and promulgation. A mechanism was needed to recruit faculty to teach women's studies, to develop new women's studies courses or a formal sequence of courses in the curriculum, and to generally promote women's studies throughout the institution.

Women's studies programs have had to struggle for acceptance and support in the educational community. Groups attempting to start programs have faced many hurdles including, in some instances, open hostility. Freeman (1971) points out that despite the precedent of area and cultural studies:

> . . . both black studies and women's studies programs have been treated with controversy and scepticism [sic] as illegitimate ways of structuring knowledge; which leads one to the feeling that perhaps it is the illegitimacy of the groups proposing them – rather than the programs – which generates the hostility (p. 475).

In the same vein, Benson (1972) notes that the definition of "legitimacy" is itself political and used as "a strategy to keep the in-people in, and the out-people out" (p. 283). However, despite the problems, within Astin and Parelman's (1973) sample of programs, there was consensus among respondents that, in their case, approval came relatively quickly and easily.

On the basis of the evidence outlined above, one might conclude that women's studies as a feature in higher education has gained a substantial foothold and deserves a closer look. The purpose of this paper is to create an understanding of women's studies programs in higher education through a description of their development and basic features. A separate chapter on background and development, Chapter 3, is included to illustrate the context within which programs evolved. First, some of the problems faced by those attempting to institute programs is reviewed. This is followed by a short section on the identification of existing programs. The programs reviewed for this paper are listed in this section of Chapter 3. Finally, several brief case studies illustrate the variety of ways programs begin.

The remainder of the paper is devoted to basic program features — women's studies courses, and program organization and activities. Chapter 4 focuses on the types of women's studies courses offered, sample course offerings, types of degree programs, and reported student response to courses. Chapter 5 explores program operation through examples of organizational structure and activities. Programs have created multilinks to the rest of the institution and the community through their organizational structure, personnel utilization, and extracurricular activities. Examples from each of these areas are cited to illustrate the network effect created by women's studies programs. The future of women's studies courses and programs is explored in Chapter 6.

Development of Women's Studies Programs

A number of complex issues have faced those creating women's studies programs. Most of the problems center on determining whether there should be a separate niche for women's studies programs and, if so, what kind of a niche it should be. The basic conflict revolves around the fact that there are almost as many compelling reasons for not establishing identifiable programs, and especially departments, as there are for it.

One of the most fundamental disagreements arises from varying views of women's studies. There are women's studies advocates who recognize the need for fuller coverage of women in the academic disciplines, but claim that women do not have a separate history, society, or culture. They view women's studies, therefore, as most properly only a special interest topic within the traditional disciplines and are against moves to separate out the study of women.

On the other hand, others in women's studies feel that there is enough uniqueness to women's experiences to justify the separate study of women. Freeman (1971) points out "that women, as a group, have a different relationship to society than men, as a group, and thus have a different set of experiences and a different perspective" (p. 475). It is this perspective that proponents feel needs to be researched, written about, and added to the intellectual realm. Further, they see no reason to expect men-in-general or male-dominated departments to take on the task of researching and incorporating this new knowledge. Consequently, many express the need for an institutional base for building a cohesive body of feminists who will tackle the work and who have the control needed for self-determination.

Even those who argue for the separation of women's studies recognize the problems that can beset a department or program that strikes out on its own. Freeman (1971) notes that once before there was a women's movement organized to meet the needs of women. The departments of women's studies created to meet these demands were called home economics. The result was a denigration of academic content, the segregation of knowledge into female fields, and an institutional place to put women.

While there is some concern about the efficacy of establishing women's studies programs and departments, persons expressing reticence are definitely in the minority in the literature on women's studies. The creation of so many programs in such a short space of time, plus the number of places where additional programs are on the drawing board, seem to indicate that many persons believe arguments for a program are more compelling than any arguments against.

Proponents of the programs, however, are aware of the dangers in establishing separate academic units. So those sponsoring programs are very concerned about designing a format that will both meet women's needs and, if possible, at the same time not result in isolation. Their goal has been to create an organization for legitimacy and advocacy that simultaneously is inextricably entwined to the regular, day-to-day functioning of the institution. The result has been the creation of programs whose organizational structure and activities result in a network of multilinks to the rest of the college.

Some programs have taken a round about way of avoiding the problems beset by units academically sanctioned. In these cases, e.g. Portland State University, the programs have been organized and sustained by groups of students, faculty, and community persons with an interest in women's studies. These "ad hoc" programs rely heavily on the volunteer efforts of those involved. Although the utilization of volunteer workers creates its own difficulties, those in the program feel that their independence gives them needed latitude in formulating the direction of the program. The emergence of these strong "ad hoc" activities in women's studies that do not fit the traditional academic mold can be labelled programs only under a broader conception of the term than usually used.

Identifying Programs on Campus

During the preliminary stages of this study, it became apparent that there would be difficulties in identifying those campuses with bona fide women's studies programs. There are so many activities related to women and women's studies happening on campuses across the country that sometimes it is hard to determine when these activities have achieved program status. For the

purposes of this paper, institutions were not included that simply offered courses in women's studies or where ideas for programs or majors and minors in women's studies were at an incipient stage. However, the criteria were not rigid; basically, programs were included if they indicated the commitment of significant institutional or human resources (including volunteer work), the existence of an organizational structure, or some indication of the "legitimization" of women's studies on campus, such as the availability of a major or minor in women's studies. In addition, only programs linked in some way to recognized institutions of higher education were included.

These broad guidelines were utilized to identify campuses with women's studies programs. Campuses with programs were asked to describe them and to share any written materials about it. The list of campuses where women's studies programs have been identified as of December 1972 appears below.

Women's Studies Programs

Alverno College (Wisconsin)
Barnard College (New York)
Berkeley (University of California)
Buffalo (State University of New York)
Cambridge-Goddard Graduate School for Social Change (Massachusetts)
Cornell University (New York)
Douglass College of Rutgers University (New Jersey)
Five-College Women's Studies Committee (Amherst, Hampshire, Mount Holyoke and Smith Colleges, and the University of Massachusetts)
Fresno (California State University)
George Washington University (District of Columbia)
Goddard College (Vermont)
Governors State University (Illinois)
Laney Community College (California)
Long Beach (California State University)
Mundelein College (Illinois)
Northeastern Illinois University
Old Westbury (State University of New York)
University of Pennsylvania
University of Pittsburgh
Portland State University
Richmond College (City University of New York)
Rockland Center of the Roger Williams College "University Without Walls" (New York)
Sacramento (California State University)

San Diego (California State University)
San Francisco (California State University)
San Jose (California State University)
Sarah Lawrence College (New York)
Sonoma State College (California)
University of South Carolina
University of South Florida
Towson State College (Maryland)
University of Washington

On the whole, programs are an east coast phenomenon. Seventeen of the 32 programs are in eastern seaboard states. Four are in the midwest and eleven are in the far west. Howe (1972a) notes that the geographic dispersion of programs parallels closely the spread of the Women's Liberation Movement, lending further credence to the notion of a link between the Movement and academia.

At this point, there is very little published information available on existing programs. *Female Studies III* (Howe and Ahlum, 1971) contains brief individual case studies for 16 of the above programs. One research study of 18 women's studies programs have been completed but has not been published yet (Astin and Parelman, 1973). Two other surveys on women's studies in general have some material relevant to programs in particular. The first survey (Foxley, 1972) sent questionnaires to 500 colleges and universities. As of now only a brief summary of the data collected is available. The second survey does not review existing programs; instead individuals interested in women's studies were asked to discuss arguments for and against programs, to analyze types of program structures, and to relate personal experiences with women's studies programs, courses, research and the development of women's studies in their discipline (*A Descriptive Analysis . . .*, 1972).

There is also a lack of information from the programs themselves. Few programs have prepared lengthy descriptions of their history and development. Materials about specific programs are scarce and many times have been developed for purposes other than presenting an historical picture. Therefore, information about programs must be gleaned from bits and pieces of information found in widely scattered sources. The information available right now suffers from both a lack of comparable data across programs and a lack of extensive descriptive materials for each. In light of the current status of knowledge about programs, generalizations about them can only be tentative at this time.

Part of the reason very little is known about programs is, of course, their very newness. The first fully recognized women's studies program on campus was established two years ago (fall 1970) at San Diego (California State University). Many programs have existed for a year or less; as such, women's studies programs are still in the introductory stage.

So far only general comments have been made about the background of women's studies programs. For better understanding, it would be valuable to present details about the development of all 32 programs, but there is neither sufficient data available nor adequate space for such coverage here. However, a brief synopsis of the development of a few programs will be given. The ones discussed were chosen to illustrate the diversity among programs.

Examples of Program Development

Five-College Committee on Women's Studies – Women in the Northampton area of Massachusetts saw a need for inter-institutional sharing of information on women's studies. After several meetings, they proposed the Five-College Committee on Women's Studies to be comprised of representatives from each of the five institutions: Amherst, Hampshire, Mount Holyoke and Smith Colleges, and the University of Massachusetts. Their proposal outlines the general goals and specific activities to be undertaken by the Committee. It also spells out the reasons for convening the Committee:

> The committee has been formed because people teaching courses on women [felt] a need to get together and talk on a regular basis; to exchange information about speakers, faculty members, bibliographic and other materials for teaching and research; and to collect and make available information for people who would like to become more familiar with the history and present status of women. To facilitate information-sharing and efficient use of resources, we felt that at least one readily identifiable person should be available at each institution and should maintain contacts with counterparts at other institutions ("Description and Proposed Activities," 1971, p. 2).

Since its formation, the Committee has continued to carry out many of its general goals and proposed activities. Most recently, the Committee sponsored a faculty seminar on "Women and the

Curriculum" in which members explored the use of the generic term "man" and values implicit in its use; attitudes toward women in the disciplines that limit the understanding of human experience; and ideas for improving the liberal arts experience for men and women students.

University of Pennsylvania – A unified group of women have worked hard and long for a women's studies department at Pennsylvania. The working group, comprised of students and faculty at the University, is called the Penn Women's Studies Planners. In April 1972, they submitted a proposal for a Department of Women's Studies to the President. The proposal is quite comprehensive, covering: Purposes and Goals; Women's Studies within the University Structure; Academic Personnel for 1972-73; Governance of the Department of Women's Studies; Administration of the Department; Curriculum; Research and Graduate Concerns; Development for the Department; Library Facilities and Materials; and Outside Funding ("Proposal for a Department . . . ," 1972). At that time the President requested a more thorough report on the development of women's studies. During the summer of 1972, the group designed and implemented a project to obtain the information needed. A questionnaire was developed and sent to 1,000 persons who had demonstrated some interest in women's studies. The questionnaire attempts to determine experiences in women's studies and reactions to developments in women's studies. Sample items include:

> What do you think are the major arguments for or against programs focusing on the study of women?
>
> In what ways has your commitment to women's studies changed your professional or personal life style?
>
> Can you give us a brief summary of the state of knowledge in the sub-specialty on women in your discipline?
>
> Have students assisted you in your research?
>
> If you have taught a course in women's studies, did you notice any difference in response by women students to this course as compared to more traditional courses you have taught? (*A Descriptive Analysis . . .*, 1972, Appendix B).

The 100-page report of the responses to the questionnaire is now ready for use by those designing a more detailed plan for a

women's studies department. Until the approval of a formal department or a program, 12 courses in women's studies have been introduced into the College of Thematic Studies for the spring of 1973.

Cornell University – As a result of issues raised at a 1969 *Cornell Conference on Women*, a number of persons became particularly interested in the curriculum. They developed the first multidisciplinary college course on women entitled "Evolution of the Female Personality: History and Prospects." The student response to the course was so great that plans began for a program. A one-day conference was held to explore the future of female studies at Cornell and other campuses in the area. Needed areas of research were identified, and an ad hoc Female Studies Committee sought funds to sponsor research and develop new courses. Funds were received from various sources within the University to operate an experimental Female Studies Program starting in September 1970. Sustained interest on campus led to the formal approval of Cornell's Women's Studies Program in May 1972. The program was accepted by a majority of the faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences, and as such is a fully-accredited academic program. In general, the Faculty Board and Director who are responsible for the program continue efforts to expand the teaching about women, research on women, and to promote public service activities for and about women.

San Diego (California State University) and Others –Quite a few women's studies programs have gained official recognition and approval on their campus through the "committee route" as the Cornell program above. The first program to receive official sanction on a campus was San Diego (California State University). The struggle to establish a women's studies program there is one of the best documented (see Salper, 1971a and 1971b). A mixed pressure group of staff, students, faculty, and several community women worked for months to establish the nation's first autonomous program. The fall of 1969 was spent organizing an informal spring program in women's studies. It consisted of five already existing courses with the contents changed to "emphasize the role, status, identity and potential of women" ("Fall Women's Studies Program," 1970, p. 1). Next a group of 20 women working as a committee drafted a proposal for a Center for Women, one component of which would focus on women's studies. The Center for

Women never became a reality on campus; however, a women's studies program including allotted teaching staff was started and is still in existence.

Fresno (California State University) had a few courses in women's studies in the Experimental College and the English department before an administrator and a faculty member developed a proposal for a multidisciplinary program. The program was approved at Fresno without opposition in 197[illegible] and began operation in the fall of 1972. Other campuses where the committee route was utilized successfully include: Buffalo (State University of New York); George Washington University; University of Pittsburgh; Richmond College (City University of New York); and the University of Washington. The proportion of programs that rely almost entirely on ad hoc groups and organizations for sustenance has diminished significantly, as an ever increasing number of programs are receiving institutional approval and support.

Women's Studies Courses

Women's studies courses are the foundation of women's studies programs. Course offerings in the area have drawn large numbers of students, and feminists report the desire on the part of students for second and third courses after an initial course in women's studies. Burgeoning interest created an overnight need for complete listings of the courses offered within and across institutions. For example, one of the first goals of the Five-College Women's Studies Committee was to oversee the routine preparation of a list of the women's studies courses being offered at colleges in the Northampton area. The task of creating pamphlets or leaflets of course offerings to be distributed to those interested in women's studies set the stage for programs on many campuses. This chapter will review the types of women's studies courses offered, examples of program offerings, types of women's studies degrees, and student response to women's studies courses.

Single and Multidisciplinary Courses

Quite a few types of courses have appeared on course listings of women's studies. There is as yet no consensus as to which courses properly belong to the field. For example, those compiling lists of courses have included ones which serve women's needs, such as self-defense; ones which are about traditional women's interests, such as child care; ones in which women are an integral part of the topic, such as sex roles and family; and ones which are about women only, such as feminism and the Women's Liberation Movement. The main intent of those compiling the lists seems to be to include all courses that are for or about women.

There are few visible attempts to specify courses that should be listed as women's studies. The Five-College Committee on Women's Studies did develop six categories of women's studies courses. They include:

> (1) Those dealing primarily or exclusively with women and taught under the auspices of a particular department by a person trained in a specific discipline. . . .

(2) Interdisciplinary approaches to the subject of women, usually taught collectively by a number of people representing various fields of study. . . .

(3) Courses which deal with sex roles or male-female reactions in general, such as Sociology 391, "Sex and Sex Roles in Changing Society". . . .

(4) Courses on the Women's Movement. . . .

(5) Discipline or field courses . . . which [have] a unit on [women]. . . .

(6) Discipline courses which ordinarily are assumed to deal primarily with women, such as "Marriage and the Family" ("Description and Proposed Activities," 1971, p. 1).

These categories indicate an attempt to create a comprehensive list of women's studies courses. However, courses in these categories may or may not actually be in the field of women's studies as defined in this paper and by others in the field. For example, courses in home economics and sociology, which would be included using these categories, have been cited by some feminists as perpetuating stereotypic notions of women.

The crucial factor is not the title or the type of course, but actual course approach. The distinguishing feature of a women's studies course, whether covering old or new material, is whether or not the course takes a feminist perspective. Marilyn Salzman-Webb points out the distinction between content coverage and approach when analyzing the field of women's studies:

> This is to say I don't particularly feel any body of knowledge is more or less relevant to feminist curricula, but it is how we look at that knowledge, what questions we ask of it, and how it is useful for an understanding of our own struggle that makes it relevant or not (Siporin, 1972, p. 69).

Therefore, courses in home economics and other disciplines may or may not adopt a feminist perspective. (For a description of a feminist course taught in a department of home economics, see Tobias and Kusnetz, 1972.) Further, as long as women's studies course lists are compiled primarily from course titles, this distinction will continue to be blurred. Some typical course titles which have appeared on women's studies lists include:

Women and Communism: The Chinese Experience – Cornell University;

The Educated Woman in Literature – Douglass College of Rutgers University;

Judeo-Christian Tradition and Historical Perceptions of the Role of Women – Smith College;

Image of Women in Western Civilization – University of South Florida;

Women and Social Welfare – Fresno (California State University);

La Raza Women's Seminar – San Francisco (California State University);

Psychology of Women – San Jose (California State University);

The Sportswoman in American Society – Towson State College;

Language of Sexism – University of Washington; and

Women and the Movies – Wesleyan University.

The substantial number of women's studies courses offered in regular college and university departments has provided a solid foundation for program offerings. From their inception the majority of women's studies courses have been in the humanities ("Women in Literature since 1900"; "Feminism in Modern French Literature"; "The Idea of Women in Philosophy"; and "Linguistic Behavior of Male and Female") and social sciences ("Position of Women in the Middle Ages"; "Sociology of Women"; "Role of Women in Modern Economic Life"; "Psychology of Women"; and "Cross-Cultural Perspectives of Women"), fields where the most women teachers are found traditionally. In the 1970-71 academic year, Astin and Parelman (1973) found that 75 percent of the women's studies courses offered could be classified in either the humanities or social sciences. With time, a number of courses have emerged in the arts, sciences, and the professions.

The single disciplinary course offering reflects one view of women's studies as a subspecialty or special interest area within an existing discipline. The fact that women's studies teachers have been trained in their own professional field to which an interest in women has been added reinforces this perception. Programs

depend on faculty in the regular departments to develop and add women's studies courses to their offerings and actively promote an interest in women's studies throughout the institution. Since few programs have been allocated faculty slots of their own (partly due to the current financial stringencies in higher education), freeing up one of a faculty member's courses for women's studies has been the most feasible method of increasing course offerings.

In addition to the single disciplinary course, programs promote a wider perspective through multidisciplinary courses. This type was especially characteristic of the first women's studies courses that were comprehensive, introductory, or issue oriented. Issues such as abortion, divorce laws, sexual attitudes, sex roles, child care, and child rearing required examination from more than one perspective. An example of such a course is "Contemporary Women in the United States" (University of South Florida):

> Economic, political and social considerations of woman's role in modern society. Changing life-styles and family patterns. Generational differences among today's women. Effects of the media in shaping attitudes, self-concept, and expectations of men and women in our society ("Women's Studies Program: Curriculum Proposal," 1972, p. 6).

Multidisciplinary courses continue to remain a staple in women's studies programs.

In some cases, multiple perspectives are provided by one instructor. Tobias (1972) describes her experience of teaching a women's studies course in which she touched six different disciplines: sociology, literature, economics, law, history, and psychology:

> I found myself often in the course of a single sentence touching on a number of disciplines. More than that, I was teaching the tools of the several fields – statistics, literary exegesis, macroeconomics. I am no genius. It is merely that one masters what one needs to make sense of the material, and in three years I have mastered large parts of quite a number of fields (p. 261).

Other times, a multiple perspective is introduced through the use of team or group teaching. For example, 27 women faculty members from 20 departments and 24 disciplines took part in the University of Wisconsin's first women's studies course. Participation took the form of a guest lecture. There are also numerous

instances where groups of teachers were present at and responsible for the entire course (e.g., see Cless, 1971). Under this condition, those responsible for the course work together to plan course content, requirements, and conduct.

Since multidisciplinary courses are a standard feature of women's studies programs, there has been some concern about its effectiveness as a technique. Teachers note that it is very hard to create a good multidisciplinary course because of overlapping content and difficulties in integrating materials. Work is being planned at Towson State College that would evaluate introductory, multidisciplinary core courses in women's studies for their effectiveness:

> We would wish to determine how effectively the disciplines have been integrated in the presentation of the subject matter in each course and whether there has been any real advantage in bringing several disciplines together. We would hope that insights can be achieved through well integrated interdisciplinary work that would not otherwise be possible, but our evaluation would necessarily have to determine if this indeed is happening, and if so, how and to what extent (Coulter and Hedges, 1972, p. 7).

Since multidisciplinary courses are such an important feature of women's studies programs (they are even required in the degree programs), research work like Towson's will make a significant contribution to the field of women's studies.

Examples of Program Offerings

At times it is difficult to tell the credit from the noncredit courses. Usually the program lists cover all institutional offerings in women's studies of which some may be extension or reduced credit courses. Similarly such a comprehensive list blurs the distinction between courses that are actually departmental but cross-listed with women's studies and those that are offered by the program only. On the whole, it seems safe to assume that most of the courses have been prompted by the program, but few operate from program funds entirely.

San Jose (California State University) – For the fall 1972, the San Jose schedule of classes lists 18 courses under the women's studies umbrella. All have departmental numbers; for example,

English 196A–"The Heroine of the American Novel" and Speech-Communication 196A–"The Rhetoric of Feminism." Seven were developed by the women's studies program and approved as departmental offerings.

Cornell University – During the fall 1972 term, the Cornell program offered four women's studies courses. Women's Studies 282–"The Social Psychology of Women" was cross-listed for credit under sociology and psychology. "Studies in Fiction: Heroes and Heroines" was listed also under English; "Women and Communism: The Chinese Experience" under government. Only "Feminist Art" had no other departmental classification indicated.

Buffalo (State University of New York) – The Women's Studies College at Buffalo is in its sixth semester and second year of existence. Each semester between 20 and 30 courses are offered enrolling up to 500 students. Three types of courses are offered in the program:

> . . . those which combine study of the position of women with field work; those which develop a theoretical analysis of women's oppression; and those which teach skills which are critical for women ("Women's Studies College," 1972, p. 15).

Some of the courses are designed for the College while others are cross-listed with separate departments. Courses include: "Philosophy of Human Nature: A Feminist Perspective on Philosophy"; Marxism and Women's Liberation"; "Women's Automotive Course"; "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation"; "Theories of Feminism"; and "Women, Careers, and Advising." In all, 28 courses are mentioned in the spring 1973 catalog.

University of Washington – Most programs offer both strictly disciplinary and multidisciplinary courses. To illustrate this both course titles and descriptions are included from a Washington program listing. The abbreviation GIS refers to those courses which are offered under General and Interdisciplinary Studies, a department in the Undergraduate Studies of the College of Arts and Sciences. Thus, all the courses are departmental offerings.

> GIS 256. *Introduction to Women Studies*: An interdisciplinary course introducing women studies through lectures, readings, and discussions, drawing from the following fields: art history, economics, history, law, literature, psychology.

GIS 353. *Women in Cross-Cultural Perspective*: An anthropological study of socio-cultural roles of women in selected societies, including the United States: an analysis of women's strategies, resources, and limitations, with emphasis upon the physiological parameters, development of personality, position in kinship, economic and political organizations, religion, expressive culture, and social change.

GIS 355. *Women and the Law*: A general introduction to the legal process with focus on the present status of women and the law: the legal status of single vs. married women, and the legal disabilities that both suffer under present laws; the rationale for protective legislation, and the present status of such legislation in light of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the proposed Equal Rights Amendment. The course will also examine the civil rights legislation and the Equal Rights Amendment generally, and will explore the potential of their impact on present sex discrimination practices. A significant portion of the course will be devoted to a study of the current litigation on such topics as abortion, education, child care, tax laws, social security benefits, etc.

GIS 430. *Problems and Topics in Women Studies*: Independent study in some area of women studies, supervised by a faculty member with appropriate academic interests.

English 431. *English Literature since 1930.*

English 499 H.B. *Problems of Women in 19th Century English Literature.*

Sociology 482. *Issues in Analytic Sociology – Sex Roles in Contemporary Society*: Male, female sex roles according to both sociological and psychological perspectives, with particular reference to role theory and stratification theory. Emphasis on power in relationships ("Women Studies: College of Arts . . . ," 1972, pp. 1-2).

The seven courses comprise the program's first quarter offerings for 1972.

Degree Programs

Richmond College (City University of New York) and the University of Washington offer bachelor's degrees in women's studies. At Richmond, women's studies is a major within the social science division. At Washington, students earn a Bachelor of Arts

in General Studies. In both programs, multidisciplinary courses or field work are integral features of the course of study. For example, at the University of Washington, requirements for a women's studies major include:

- One core course in Women Studies which presents an overall view of the field. . . .
- 35 credits in a single department offering courses relevant to Women Studies.
- At least four upper-division Women Studies courses designated as such on the curriculum list.
- A senior thesis on some aspect of Women Studies.
- In addition to the requirements for a major, all students must fulfill the University and College of Arts and Sciences requirements for total credits and distribution ("Women Studies Major," 1972, p. 1).

The course that fulfills the first requirement, "Introduction to Women Studies," is multidisciplinary in nature; it introduces the study of women using the fields of art history, economics, history, law, literature, and psychology.

There are also three graduate programs in women's studies. Sarah Lawrence College offers an individualized master's program in women's history. Candidates are expected to take three, year-long, 10 credit courses of graduate work and submit a thesis. In addition to history courses, and women-in-history courses, candidates are expected to do individual work in fields of study such as literature, anthropology, economics, and psychology related to some aspect of women's history.

The Cambridge-Goddard Graduate School for Social Change, a program of Goddard College, offers a master's degree in women's studies. The School is an experimental program in graduate education designed for people interested in combining research and social action. Student-faculty collectives are formed around mutual interests. The group is responsible for developing their own study plan and degree requirements. Once a plan or set of activities is formulated, it becomes the group's work for the academic year. Five possible topics were offered for the 1972-73 academic year in the Feminist Studies Program: family, socialization, sexuality, work, and forms of female expression.

The George Washington University recently approved a graduate degree in women's studies. Students in the field of women's studies earn a Master of Arts in Special Studies awarded by the University's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. Requirements of the program include two core courses in women's studies that are multidisciplinary. The first course will be conducted by five women professors plus 3 guest lecturers in the spring of 1973. The rest of the student's courses will be selected from other University offerings with the consultation of an academic advisor.

Even if the program does not offer a degree, at many institutions students can specialize in women's studies. On many campuses across the country students can earn their BA degree through self-designed majors with special emphasis in areas of their own choice. For example, at the University of Minnesota there are four ways a student can earn a BA with special emphasis in women's studies: (1) Through the Experimental College in which each student designs his or her own undergraduate education; (2) through the University College in which a student may design his or her own major, drawing from all the colleges; (3) interdepartmentally within the College of Liberal Arts by selecting from programs in the College; (4) and through a special Bachelor of Electives Studies program in which 100 students participate each year.

At Berkeley (University of California), the Center for the Continuing Education for Women is drawing up sample majors in women's studies to be used by students taking advantage of the individualized major. If these model plans receive formal approval, students wishing to concentrate in women's studies may adopt them, thereby eliminating the need to be cleared on a case-by-case basis. At San Francisco (California State University) a similar arrangement has been made under the Interdisciplinary Studies in Social Sciences degree program. The major that crosses disciplinary boundaries in the social and behavioral sciences consists of 12 units of required courses and at least 24 units of electives centered around a theme. Several clusters of electives are suggested for those students who wish a major with a "focus on women." In situations such as these, it is understandable why there might be less concern about establishing a recognized major or degree in women's studies. However, proposals for majors and minors in women's studies are currently being considered at many institutions.

Student Response

Women's studies courses have been attracting large numbers of students. In the spring of 1970, when a team of teachers introduced "The Evolution of Female Personality" at Cornell University, the course attracted 204 undergraduates and about 150 auditors (Tobias, 1970b). This phenomenon is not unique. Similar occurrences are reported at other institutions starting women's studies courses.

The student composition has run from all female to all male (Showalter and Ohmann, 1971). In 1971, White et al., estimated that one in ten students were male. A national survey done by Astin and Parelman (1973) and one done by Foxley (1972) also found the enrollment rate of male students to be about 10 percent. Although classes have not been closed to males, in a few instances class procedures have been designed to minimize traditional sex role behavior. One common device is the creation of sex-segregated discussion groups.

One institution, the University of Washington, asked students why they were taking women's studies courses.

> The students gave many reasons for taking their particular Women Studies course(s). Basic to all replies, however, was a concern for knowledge in an area all felt was generally ignored at the University. Again and again both men and women students indicated "personal growth," and "self-knowledge" as reasons for their initial interest. Also, many indicated that they enrolled because the role of women must be changed and education was the basis for social reform ("Report of the *ad hoc* Committee . . . ," 1971, p. 8).

Some students view women's studies courses as a way to learn about the Women's Liberation Movement and not be identified as a "women's libber." Others are attracted by the possibility of work with nontraditional source materials and innovative teaching techniques. It is clear that some of the attraction of women's studies will wear off with time. It is impossible to predict how much and at what rate.

Secondhand reports of students' responses to women's studies courses would indicate that they are enthusiastic. Most of the reporting has been done by the course instructors or organizers. Lerner reports:

> Several of the students expressed the conviction, in their evaluations, that their ideas of what to do with their lives had undergone change, as a result of the seminar. They were more open to different options of life patterns, different ways of making use of the many opportunities open to them, different educational goals. Two of them were reinforced in their desire to go on to graduate study; one or two thought, for the first time, they might like to become historians. The sampling was, of course, small, but the experience of the seminar would indicate that to a group of female students the opportunity for frank discussion of these troublesome questions can be of great vocational and intellectual significance (Howe, 1970, p. 87).

Other reported student reactions to women's studies courses have included: increased valuation of own intellect; increased awareness of the male orientation of other courses; increased awareness of professorial comments that embody mythical views of women and their roles; more positive feelings toward personal potential; significant reorientation of attitudes and views; depression; anger; a feeling that the course had personal meaning; and increased awareness of male chauvinism in aspects of day-to-day life.

A number of writers have commented on the depth of emotion that women's studies courses seem capable of evoking.

> At the end of a literature course, one girl came up to Buffalo's Ann Scott and declared: "I want you to know that you've ruined my life. Everything I read now fills me with rage" ("Studying the Sisterhood," 1972, p. 91).

Another problem encountered is deep depression on the part of women students who see little hope after lengthy documentation of sex discrimination. Teachers are struggling to combat potential despair and depression and to provide support for students who find their attitudes and values challenged or find the course structure threatening.

Another interesting area of student response that has been chronicled by teachers of women's studies, is men students' reactions. The experience of being in the minority led to new insights on the part of some men. Strong observes:

> For the first time in these men's university experiences they were not only in a minority, but a frighteningly small minority, which made a second element in the class more difficult to handle. Not only were they a minority, but they were in a situation in which they did not possess a naturally assumed authority because of

> their sex. In history and political science, disciplines which usually explore such traditionally male activities as war, politics, and power, it is somehow assumed by both men and women that these are subjects which men "innately" understand better than women. Thus women, because they are usually in a minority and outside their "natural" sphere, tend to participate less. In a feminism class, however, things are quite the opposite, and a number of women made it clear that women, by their very nature, possessed special insights into the problems of women and that men could never understand the quality of woman's subordination, either historically or contemporarily, because they were the oppressors. By their very womanhood, women possessed a bond with Elizabeth Cady Stanton which men were incapable of understanding, for only the oppressed could understand the oppressed (Showalter and Ohmann, 1971, p. 43).

Other teachers report men students' behavior ranged from subtle to blatant in their attempt to regain power and status within the classroom. Some actions are clearly intended to be disruptive. Others reveal their inability to relate to the instructors on a professional level and to take the subject matter seriously. Tobias (1972) reports that only male students complain that the course is offering "no solutions" and is "beating a dead horse," which might be "a denial of the complexity of the issue and its relation to *their* lives" (p. 262). Benson (1972) describes an instance where the male students did not or could not treat the women instructors as professionals.

> From the first day, our male students behaved towards us as they never would have toward our male counterparts. They called us by our first names immediately. They wanted us to keep the class from laughing or groaning at males who asked stupid, facetious, or deliberately provocative questions. (They apparently weren't as concerned about the egos of the women students.) They gave us unsolicited advice on everything from our lecture styles to our hairstyles and clothes. What we women teachers objected to was not that relations between students and teachers could be much more informal than they are now. We were concerned that men students could not relate to women teachers as professionals. They thought, like many of their male mentors, that because we were women, they could relate to us immediately in a very personal way more or less as mothers and sweethearts. On one level, this is merely offensive. On another, it's a way for men to deny that what we are saying is valid and relevant to them (pp. 285-286).

On the other hand, there have been some reports of real behavioral changes by men as the result of their encounter with women's studies courses. One male student observed that some men had become less emotionally inhibited, had reduced their strivings for dominance, and generally became more human ("Studying the Sisterhood," 1972, p. 91).

Summary

The women's studies course is by far the most important element of women's studies programs. Historically, programs were built on women's studies offerings. Most of the initial courses were in the humanities and social sciences. Programs have continued to encourage courses in these and other disciplines. In addition to courses in the traditional disciplines, programs commonly feature multidisciplinary courses. Sample program listings and degree requirements feature some kind of multidisciplinary work. Reports indicate that students find women's studies stimulating and interesting. At present, programs continue to build in response to student enthusiasm. Chapter 5 will review organizational structures and program activities as mechanisms of support for women's studies.

Program Operation

While women's studies courses are the backbone of women's studies programs, another basic program feature centers on the mechanism of operation. Most characteristic is the attempt to maintain and foster multilinks to both the campus and the community. This chapter will cover three areas in which programs utilize the multilink approach to program operation: organizational structure, faculty and staff utilization, and specific program activities. Examples which illustrate program approaches will be cited under each of these areas.

Organizational Structure

Women's studies programs are characterized by either nonhierarchical or minimized hierarchical structures. Such structures many times have built-in mechanisms for receiving input from various campus constituencies in addition to a large governing board or committee. Program planners frequently note that these structures were adopted in the hopes that wide participation would be ensured.

One type of nonhierarchical structure that has been utilized is the collective. Collectives are those programs that do not designate one person as the head. Programs conducted essentially on a collective basis include: Buffalo (State University of New York); Cambridge-Goddard Graduate School for Social Change; Goddard College; Portland State University; Richmond (City University of New York); and Sacramento (California State University).

At Sacramento, the guiding body of the program is an elected women's studies board. It consists of three elected faculty with one vote, three students with three votes, and two staff with one vote. This board develops policies, controls funds, allocates positions, and, when necessary, the faculty members assume departmental chair duties.

Right now, it is unclear whether the collectives are successful. The longest operating one is beginning its sixth semester. So, for over a year now, the Buffalo Women's Studies College has carried on its work through committees composed of students taking women's studies courses and teachers. Even this seems too short a

time in which to make an evaluation. The fact that the energy and time required to make group decisions is substantial is probably one reason that some collectives are currently reassessing their governing structure. So some collectives may evolve into forms with increased delegation of responsibilities and functions.

A somewhat modified collective structure is popular among women's studies programs. It consists primarily of a committee or board with one or two persons designated as program head. An example of this structure may be found at Towson State College. The women's studies program there is run by a Women's Studies Committee composed of eight faculty members, two of whom are designated program coordinators. San Francisco (California State University) has essentially the same structure. The program there is run by a 12-member Advisory Committee on Women's Studies chaired by one person. At Fresno (California State University) the academic vice president appointed a 13-member advisory committee to direct the Women's Studies Program. One faculty member was designated coordinator of the group that has five other faculty members and seven students. Other examples of this structure type include: Barnard College; Mundelein College; Northeastern Illinois University; University of Pittsburgh; San Diego (California State University); and the University of Washington.

The program at Cornell University is a good example of one that operates with input from diverse sources. Decisionmaking for the program rests with the Faculty Board, which is composed of faculty holding the rank of assistant professor or above. Mechanisms exist so that elected representatives from other constituencies, such as graduate students, will be added as the program evolves. The director of the program is a member of the Faculty Board and coordinates the program on a half-time basis. In addition there is the Advisory Group composed of fifty graduate students, undergraduates, lecturers, postdoctoral associates, instructors, and academic staff members. They serve on twelve subcommittees that are the source of ideas, womenpower for projects, and a sounding board for plans of the Faculty Board. An adjunct to the Advisory Group consists of faculty members who are called Friends of Women's Studies. Cornell exemplifies the network type of program structure that relies on a fairly representative body for decisionmaking and ties to an even wider body (or bodies) for ideas and input.

Personnel Utilization

One of the prime ways for programs to maintain a link to the rest of the academic community has been to utilize faculty from various departments and colleges to teach women's studies courses. Programs report great interest in women's studies among campus faculty members and a willingness to participate in program activities.

On occasion joint appointments are a feature of the program. If this is the case, faculty are shared between women's studies and a regular department on the basis of their appointment rather than through the use of release time. For example, at the University of Pittsburgh, the program plan called for new faculty "... incumbents to be appointed in established departments, who will form an interdisciplinary program with a portion of their time allocated to the program" ("FAS Votes ...," 1971, p. 1). Appointments were made by a joint decision of the particular departments and a women's studies search committee appointed by the provost in consultation with the dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences.

Sometimes, persons serving as the designated coordinator, director, or program head also are part-time. In this case, their time is divided between women's studies and regular departmental or administrative duties. More commonly, faculty members have been released from a class or other duties to devote time to the development or operation of the program.

Students and community women have also been involved in all aspects of women's studies programs. For example, at San Diego (California State University) lecturers are women who have their BAs and formerly were teaching assistants in the program. ("Proposal to Establish Women's Studies as an Official Minor ...," 1972, p. 3). At Sacramento (California State University), women with "grass-roots" community movement experience serve on the program's faculty ("Request for Approval of a Minor in Women's Studies ...," 1972, p. 10). And at Cornell University any person interested in teaching a women's studies course can submit an application that includes a course proposal and an outline. These are reviewed by a board, which then offers one-term appointments as lecturer to those with good course ideas and academic qualifications. In addition to participation in program teaching, many governing boards have students and staff members.

Extracurricular Program Activities

Many activities reflect attempts to maintain and build links between the program and the rest of the institution or the community at large. A number of proposals for programs indicate that building these links were considered a high priority goal. Plans for the proposed women's studies center at Northeastern Illinois University reflect this concern. Suggested center activities include:

> Providing resource materials on women and men to all interested community people, students, and faculty.
>
> Encouraging research for our own use and periodic publication.
>
> Encouraging and helping plan seminars and conferences relating to issues of equality, career planning, and alternative social structures.
>
> Helping students and community people to implement their career plans as well as providing support for individuals who desire to broaden their career options.
>
> Providing some form of child care assistance to parents who wish to take courses.
>
> Disseminating information and providing counseling on birth control, legal rights, and health care.
>
> Maintaining a speaker's bureau ("Women's Studies Program," 1972, p. 2).

Further, both the University of Wisconsin (Milwaukee) and Mundelein College's proposals for women's programs have large sections devoted to public service or outreach activities. They urge publicity for the program and college to surrounding area women, vocational guidance and placement services, development of community projects through which students could obtain degree credit for field work, provision of information services to the community, and the establishment of a state Women's Studies Information Clearinghouse ("Proposal for a Women's Studies Program . . . ," 1972, pp. 3-4 and "The Report Investigating . . . ," 1971, p. 1).

Actual program activities also reflect attempts to establish connections between the program and the campus or the program and the community. For example, contacts between programs and

the campus faculty have been fostered by women's studies surveys. A brief questionnaire was directed to all Cornell faculty asking them if any sections of their courses focused on women; if such courses could be publicized; whether any research projects pertinent to women's studies were anticipated or underway in their department; and if they would serve as an advisor to the program from time to time. Responses indicated that 56 projects related to women's studies were being planned or executed by Cornell faculty and students, and 75 faculty members consented to being advisors.

Alverno College, as a women's college, felt it inappropriate to start a separate women's studies program within the institution. Personnel at the College feel that all of its programs, classes, and activities should be relevant to and serve women's needs. As a result, self-study efforts are currently underway to reevaluate the College program. As part of the self-study, a survey was done to assess the usage of a feminist orientation in class. A questionnaire asked each faculty member to cite approaches or changes in course content, methodology, etc., that reflected an awareness of women students' needs. The results were reported in five categories: content; concepts to be incorporated in class; methodology of teaching; extracurricular activities; and career opportunities ("Summary of Departmental Presentations . . . ," 1971).

Although women's studies programs are concerned with the development of women's studies courses that receive academic credit within the institution, their educational focus is much broader. They also participate actively in extension, continuing education, and community-based educational efforts. At Cornell University the women's studies program served as a resource for several projects undertaken by the Cooperative Extension divisions of the University, including the preparation of the "Women in Employment" sections of a training program for Cornell's firstline supervisors. Similar efforts are reported at the University of Washington where work is done with the Division of Continuing Studies that offers noncredit courses to the general public.

Women's studies programs have also been instrumental in establishing popular courses for women in the basic skills or self-help area. These courses are usually offered on a noncredit or reduced credit basis and instruct students "how to do things" in areas traditionally relegated to men. Self-defense, automobile mechanics, industrial arts, and legal self-help are among the types of courses offered.

Academic counseling is routinely provided by women's studies programs. In addition, some programs are concerned to some extent with career counseling. This is considered an important function of the Barnard Women's Center.

> Educating women means more than giving them academic courses. Programs to help them plan careers, before and after the B.A., are an integral part of the Center (Stimpson, 1971, p. 8).

Women's studies programs have sponsored or promoted a wide variety of other activities. These include: conferences; institutes; workshops; symposia; seminars; lecture and film series; day care centers; consciousness-raising groups; area family planning services; musical and theatre groups; and several publications. Along with bringing speakers and artists to campus, a number of programs have provided speakers to interested organizations. Cornell University reports providing speakers to at least thirty Cornell campus groups, to local organizations such as Girl Scouts, Business and Professional Women's Clubs, and Ithaca Women's Clubs, and to nearby colleges such as Bucknell University, Keuka College, and Eisenhower College.

In each case, the number and variety of program activities seems to depend on local interest and resources, as well as individual talents and energies. Still they all serve as examples of the many ways programs promote themselves on campus and within the wider community.

Women's Studies and the Future

At this point it seems imperative to entertain some conjecture about the future of women's studies and women's studies programs. Few programs are adequately funded, and grants to programs are rare occurrences. A few programs report special donations or bequests, but primarily programs have subsisted on institutional support and the volunteer efforts of individuals. This is not surprising, since research, teaching, course planning, and curriculum revision are some of the activities traditionally sanctioned by colleges and universities. However, those program activities that might be viewed as special interest to and for women will continue to compete with other programs for funds.

Despite these problems, there are three major reasons that will justify the continued existence of women's studies and women's studies programs. First, there is the demonstrated need for building a systematic body of knowledge about women. This state of affairs is one of the primary reasons for the enthusiasm for women's studies among students and teachers. Both find it stimulating to be engaged in research and study in an area where original work is needed. Teachers such as Wendy Martin report that their students are excited over the prospects of doing research in a new field:

> Many students were radicalized by having to write a portrait of a nineteenth-century feminist; singly and together, they searched the shelves of the Queen's College Library, their local libraries, and finally the New York Public Library and discovered that there was very little information available on many of the most important feminists. When they were able to locate materials such as letters, diaries, autobiographies and tracts, they discovered that in addition to being improperly catalogued, these materials were left to crumble in an obscure corner. . . . Surprisingly, the men students were most outraged by this sexist influence on the distribution of knowledge, probably because this was the first time they confronted it on a very practical and immediate level (Showalter and Ohmann, 1971, p. 11).

And the number of new journals in the field alone signifies the increased interest in women's studies among faculty members and scholars.

Second, there is a need to build theories from data on women and sex differences. Researchers have found and are finding that women's experiences and perceptions do differ from men's. Sex differences have always been an important, mediating variable in research in the social sciences. Women's studies reemphasizes the need to research and learn about these differences and their implications. The Women's Studies Committee at Towson expresses this view:

> Men and women are, in fact, socialized in very different ways. Contemporary concern with this process dictates the necessity for scholarly study ("Women's Studies at Towson State . . . ," 1972, p. 1).

Right now the collection of empirical data on women and the development of theories adequate to conceptualize this data is the first order of business for women's studies. Institutions of higher education are the proper place in our society to conduct this work. Faculty of the Women's Studies Program of the University of South Florida point out the social benefits to be derived from scholarly work in women's studies:

> Crucial social issues, about which many generalizations exist, are giving rise to policies which have no adequate and critical scholarship to support them. For example, the relationship among women's role priorities, effective birth control programs, and urbanization; alternatives to the nuclear family as a basic unit of social organization; the role of society as an agent of early socialization (day care), and the interest of society in matters of abortion and population planning ("Women's Studies Program: Curriculum Proposal," 1972, p. 2).

Thus, the amount of work to be done in terms of gathering data and developing theories, by itself, could easily justify the existence of women's studies programs in institutions of higher education.

Third, women's studies programs will be started and maintained as long as women's interests need special advocacy on campus. If bodies of knowledge remain unbalanced in their coverage of humanity, women will continue to utilize programs to promote a more positive and adequate presentation of women. As such, women's studies programs provide a legitimate place for women to bring these concerns and to organize their efforts.

In the long range, the future of women's studies programs will depend on how well women's studies develops as a field of interest. There is the possibility that knowledge about women will be integrated into the disciplines that exist today. However, most feminists feel that this is not likely to happen for some time. In the meantime, women's studies courses and programs are providing a place for feminists to promote the study of women.

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